5 cents a copy
February 2, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S FOUNDED 1870

THE CONTAGION OF FREEDOM

"CONTINUOUSLY PRAYING"

CITIZENSHIP IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

A CORNER ON PUBLICITY

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN
171 Madison Avenue New York

VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

The price of The Woman Citizen is five cents a copy ($1.00) for one year. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class Matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue
New York

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THE VOTE AND THE VOTER

IN this issue of the Woman Citizen there is an article on Citizenship in National Government.

How many people, men or women, know just what rights of citizenship are given them by the Federal Government?

By their State Governments?

How many would like to know?

The Woman Citizen plans to tell just such things from week to week.

It aims to make the vote and the voter well acquainted. Later it will explain some of the complexities of the income tax.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1885, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.
On the calendar Date for vote not fixed

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.
House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommendation.
New identical resolution introduced in House by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next Woman Suffrage Committee.
House Vote Jan. 10, 1918, 274 ayes, 136 noes.
VICTORY!

B. Altman & Co.

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Three million people will soon have viewed the moving picture film, The New Art of Dress, captioned as above. The subject was chosen as an "educational" feature worthy of note. An interesting booklet sent on request.

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The most vitally interesting as it is the most timely book for American women organizing for war service. Written by an official of the British Treasury, who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of England.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK
BY
HELEN FRASER

"Miss Fraser's book is a piece of history. The new lessons of co-operation and selfless devotion learned from this book will, I confidently predict, within a few months be translated into action by women's War Service Committees in every state of our land."
Introduction by PRESIDENT MacCRACKEN of Vassar College.
Price $1.50. 16 Illustrations

G. ARNOLD SHAW PUBLISHER, NEW YORK

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

February 2, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

One Way to Save

"IT conserves not only food and fuel, but time, and strength, and women." In these concise words, Mrs. Ferdinanda W. Reed, in a recent address before a gathering of suffragists, summed up the advantages of a unique experiment that she is carrying on in Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Reed is a member of the local school board. She got the board's consent to let her serve hot soup to the children of the Peabody school at cost, and also sell it to such of the parents as wished to buy.

Special pains were taken to make the parents understand that it was in no sense a charity. The Mayor sent his daughter to buy a jug of the soup; the Superintendent of Schools did the same; and the people of the district soon learned that the Peabody School soup was good.

IN the clean, concrete-paved basement of the school stands a kettle holding 150 quarts. The soup is made and served out by a woman living in the district, who is a good cook. It simmers over a gas stove. A local grocer and provision dealer, who has a child in the school, supplies most of the materials at cost. Bought at wholesale, the price is low; and Mrs. Reed is constantly finding ways to bring the expenses lower still. Thus she began by buying celery at 28 cents a bunch, but has now found a market man who sells her, for 50 cents, a bushel of the outside stalks, not white enough to look well on the table, but perfectly good for soup. They have three kinds of soup a week—one on Monday, another on Tuesday and Wednesday, a third on Thursday and Friday; and they vary the kinds from week to week.

THEY are able to serve the soup to the children at two and a half cents for a half-pint helping; and the children like it, for sometimes they take three helps. For 25 cents, each child gets a card that pays for ten half pints, and each meal is marked off when eaten.

The soup is sold to parents and neighbors for ten cents a quart, or three quarts for 25 cents. The delivering is done by the children, who call for the jug or pail on their way to school, and leave it on their way home. The customers pay the child two cents for delivering a quart, or three cents for delivering a larger quantity. Even with this cost added, the soup is cheaper than if it were made by each family for itself. The materials cost less when bought in bulk, and one fire cooks the whole.

ANOTHER advantage is that a child is no longer wholly dependent on the prosperity of his family for his power to get a good meal. He can earn it for himself. Any child securing two customers who take two or more quarts of soup three times a week earns nine cents a week by delivering it—18 cents a fortnight. In consideration of his having increased the trade of the Peabody School center, he is allowed to buy with this 18 cents a 25-cent ticket entitling him to ten half pints of soup. This covers the ten school days of the fortnight. Or, if he prefers, he can use the money otherwise.

The sale of this "neighborhood soup" has not only paid all expenses, but since November it has made almost profit enough to cover the $100 guarantee which the school board put up to enable the thing to get started as an activity of the school center. It has also drawn the people of the neighborhood together in an added friendliness.

MRS REED'S object was not only to put something hot and nourishing into the children, but also to convince their parents of the value of soup as a food. Two hundred tons of meat bones are sold by the Boston butchers as refuse every week. They are boiled for the sake of the grease, which is used for soap-fat The bones are saved to be made into fertilizer. Then a sluice is opened, and all that good soup is poured into the sewer. The same is the case in most cities.

This waste is wicked in time of peace. It is doubly and trebly wicked in time of war, when a large part of the world's population is starving. Here is one of the points where women can help. The minute household economies have always been part of "woman's sphere." It has not been men's affair to think of them. The special training that women have had in the home from time immemorial they can now apply for the benefit of the state.

They have already done it in England. The women were horrified by the throwing away of all the bones and other garbage from the camp kitchens. They protested and protested, and finally brought about a reform. Now Miss Helen Fraser tells us, as a direct result of the women's efforts, every bit of garbage from the English camps is used to feed pigs, and even the grease from the dishwater is siphoned off and turned into glycerine, which makes possible the manufacture of a huge quantity of shells.

THE men were not much to blame for the earlier waste. Domestic details are not in their line. But this is only one example of many ways in which women can make a really valuable contribution to the public weal; and their suggestions will be listened to sooner and much more respectfully when they have a vote.

Nearly half a century ago a prominent clergyman said he was in favor of woman suffrage "precisely because few old women keep house so wastefully as Chancellors of the Exchequer keep the states." He was convinced, he said, that women's particular gifts, when utilized in public affairs, would prove "extremely economical and beneficial." Let the United States Senators remember this when they come to vote upon the suffrage amendment. Meanwhile Mrs. Reed's plan for the conservation of food, fuel and human health might well be tried in other school centers.

A. S. B.

Clear the Way

THE world situation grows daily more tremendous. The weighty problems before Congress become constantly more pressing and more insistent. Every grain of sand in the wheels ought to be taken out. No avoidable cause of friction should be allowed to waste time that is more precious than money. For this reason, in addition to all the others, the vote to submit the woman suffrage amendment to the states ought to go through the U. S. Senate with the least possible resistance.

In the British House of Lords, recently, a little group of willful men used up two whole days in a futile fight to keep woman suffrage out of the Representation of the People bill. They knew their fight was futile. They knew they were ntterly outnumbered, and that the adoption of woman suffrage was a foregone conclusion; yet they spent two precious days in kicking against the inevitable.

The U. S. Senate has a chance to show more wisdom. Everybody knows that this amendment is bound to pass Congress before long. Until it is passed it must inevitably be a source of trouble. "Unsettled questions have no mercy upon the repose of nations." When it has been handed along by the national body to the states, not one minute of the Senate's valuable time will ever need to be spent upon it again. So far as Congress is concerned, it will be out of the way for good and all.

We have said it before, and we say it again: at this crisis to take up the time of Congress by spinning out resistance to the inevitable is not the part of a patriot. A. S. B.

"Wilson Criticized"

SO run headlines on a story that is going the rounds of the newspapers. The criticizing is done by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the secretary of which is Mrs. Robert Lansing, whose husband is a member of the Wilson cabinet. That it is done by means of implication makes it none the less venomous and none the more subtle. Publicly Miss Minnie Bronson, executive secretary of the anti-suffrage association, accepts as true a report that President Wilson sent a secret emissary to reassure Miss Paul, while she was in prison, on the score of Mr. Wilson's changed attitude toward the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Antis had branded the report as untrue. A public acceptance of it as true gave a much desired opportunity to criticize the President under the guise of an apology to Miss Paul.

Mrs. Lansing disclaims responsibility for the apology and the criticism, but the disclaimer still leaves her as secretary of the association that has sought to belittle the Chief Executive under whose favor Secretary Lansing holds office.

No Polls for Women Only

IN various towns of New York State efforts have arisen to demand separate polling places for men and women voters. The best defined of these efforts is included in Senate Bill 14 for amending the charter of Peekskill, New York, a bill already introduced into the Legislature at Albany. One of the provisions of this bill is separate polling places for men and women and separate ballots, one to read "women's ballot" and the other "men's ballot."

This provision does not meet with the approval of suffrage leaders generally, and has so far few sponsors among men politicians. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, acting chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, has received a letter from a prominent official, whose name she does not feel at liberty to divulge, which expresses keen disapproval of the segregation provisions in the Senate bill. "If the franchise as granted to women is to accomplish anything at all," says this correspondent, "one of the first reforms it should bring about is the making of the balloting places respectable. This is far from the condition at the present time. A large number of them have the atmosphere of a saloon rather than that of a governmental institution. Furthermore, I do not see that there should be any special designation of the ballots. It is no business of the public to know how the women vote any more than it is to know how the special races, classes and interests use their franchise."

In reference to the last objection, the New York *Times* of January 28 also pointed out a very real danger.

"To follow out that plan (of segregation)," says the *Times*, "would be an infringement on, if not subversive of, the idea of complete political equality and duty as between the sexes which is now the law of the state.

"It would be worse than that, however, in that to an appreciable degree, it would diminish the secrecy of the ballot which our new law, as did our old one, demands and promises. It would

be interesting, of course, to everybody to know how the votes of women, as women, were cast, but nobody has any more right to know it than to know how any other class of voters do the same thing, and anything of that sort would be hotly and properly resented by the whole electorate.

"In only rare instances will women have in the common polling places experiences at all dangerous or painful or embarrassing, and when trouble comes it will have to be endured as part price of the eagerly sought change."

Circularity of Thought

There are people who can take a simple bit of logic like this:

"Woman suffrage is coming.

"The Federal Suffrage Amendment shows the quickest and best way for it to come.

"So let's have the amendment without delay."

And make out of it this:

Woman
is the
coming quickest
Federal Suffrage and best without
Amendment gives the
shows the so let's
way delay
suffrage

Briefs for Suffrage

BY a vote of 72 to 17 the New York Assembly passed a resolution informing the United States Senate that New York State wishes to have the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed at once. The resolution was acted upon by the Senate, passing that body by a vote of 18 to 8. The measure went through under the chaperonage of all parties, Republican, Democratic and Socialist leaders all favoring it.

MRS. ELLEN O'GRADY, of Brooklyn, is New York City's first woman police deputy. Appointed by Mayor Hylan, she was sworn into office and took up her new duties on January 29th. Mrs. O'Grady has been a probation officer in Brooklyn for ten years. The need of a woman in authority on the police force has long been recognized by the women of the city and daring as Mayor Hylan's experiment may seem to the fearful, its development will be watched with hospitable interest. A fuller account of Mrs. O'Grady's new duties and her qualifications for them will follow in a later issue.

NEW YORK'S legislative leaders have agreed on a bill to pave the way for women to vote in the special congressional and local option elections this Spring and in the primaries next Fall. The bill, which will be enacted shortly, takes care of women voters in the coming congressional elections, providing three days for their registration, and also takes care of them so far as the primaries are concerned, setting aside two days in May (the third Friday and Saturday) for their enrollment in any of the regular parties.

What Editors Say

"AS for the woman suffragists, they are to be congratulated on the long step which has been taken toward their goal. The amendment is not up to the States yet, for the Senate has not acted on it, and in that body it is apt to have less easy sailing than in the House. But there is little reason to doubt it will be passed by the Senate before the present Congress adjourns."—Pittsburgh *Gazette-Times*.

"WOMEN of this state have been voting for more than five years, and the infant mortality rate hereabouts remains so low that it is hardly worth bothering with. Most of the men of this state stopped drinking two years ago, and instead of embracing narcotics they have consoled themselves with near beer and chocolate creams. These facts may not be logical, but they are facts nevertheless. The anti-suffragists and the anti-prohibitionists ought to heed the advice of Horace Greeley and go West for a while."—*Spokesman-Review*, Spokane.

"IF the British House of Lords can concede the enfranchisement of women by a vote of 134 to 60, which virtually settles the question, since little further procedure is necessary, the United States Senate can afford to indorse the measure, which still leaves tremendous work to be accomplished in the various states before American women are similarly recognized as human beings, entitled to political justice. It were the height of ingratitude for the Senate to refuse to approve the resolution in view of the splendid war service given by the women. Republican Senators are likely to vote en bloc for the measure. The Democrats have the example set by President Wilson, who gives the amendment his unqualified support. Unless the United States Senate is hopelessly lost to a sense of justice, gratitude and political expediency, it will approve the resolution by a majority safely in excess of the necessary two-thirds."

Richmond, Va., *Journal*.

FROM its remote Northern pinnacle of omniscience the Rochester, N. Y., *Democrat-Chronicle*, undertakes to manage the suffrage subject for the South in this wise:

"The vicious feature of suffrage by constitutional amendment is that it would involve votes for women in Southern states where there is a large negro population, and where the general standard of education is so low that enlarging the franchise would place the ballot in the hands of a mass of voters who were not qualified to vote and who would inevitably be easily swayed by the demagogue and the foe of the national welfare. Southern women are just beginning to take an interest in suffrage. They should be given an opportunity to catch up with their Northern sisters before they assume the responsibility of voting."

It may be a just criticism, but in face of the vigorous suffrage work of the women in Tennessee, in Texas, in Arkansas, in Kentucky, in Virginia, it is hard to believe. Our own idea is that it is Southern men who lag behind, not Southern women.

Pushing Suffrage at Washington

REPUBLICAN initiative in the passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment will be as pronounced and as potent in the Senate as it was in the House, according to the prediction of Colonel Roosevelt. In a letter to Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, made public through the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the Colonel writes:

"My Dear Senator Gallinger:

"I am glad to know that so large a proportion, not less than 75 per cent., of the Republicans in the Senate are going to support the Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment.

The vote in the House, 165 yeas, out of the total of 198 of the Republicans voting, shows that the Republican Party is taking the leading part in the liberal and inevitable movement for enfranchising women.

"I hope that when the vote is taken in the Senate it will be found that the few yet unconvinced Republicans will be ready to unite with the majority in giving such a total vote as will demonstrate to the entire country that the Republican Party is a unit on this vital question.

"The Republican Party will do as it has done in the past and take the lead in completing the work of giving a square deal to the women in this country, who are at this very moment standing shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and fathers, their sons and brothers in the great war for liberty and justice.

"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed)

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THE loss of two suffrage votes in the Senate by the death of Senators Newlands and Brady has been made good in time for the vote on the Suffrage Amendment by the prompt appointment of their successors. The two new Senators from the West, Senator Henderson of Nevada, and Senator Nugent of Idaho, who, promptly interviewed on their arrival in Washington, are both ready to stand up and be counted among those who will vote and work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Senate. Both have so stated to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president and congressional chairman, respectively, of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

"No need for the ladies to come to see Senator Nugent about suffrage," according to the Senator himself. "I am prepared to hang a card on my door announcing that I am a suffragist, always have been a suffragist, and am ready to vote for the Federal Amendment whenever it comes up. We have suffrage in Idaho, and everybody likes it."

Senator Henderson has been equally emphatic. "Why, of course," he says. "My wife and I have always been for suffrage. Nevada approves of suffrage, and anything I can do or say to help I stand ready to do. Of course I shall vote for the Federal Amendment."

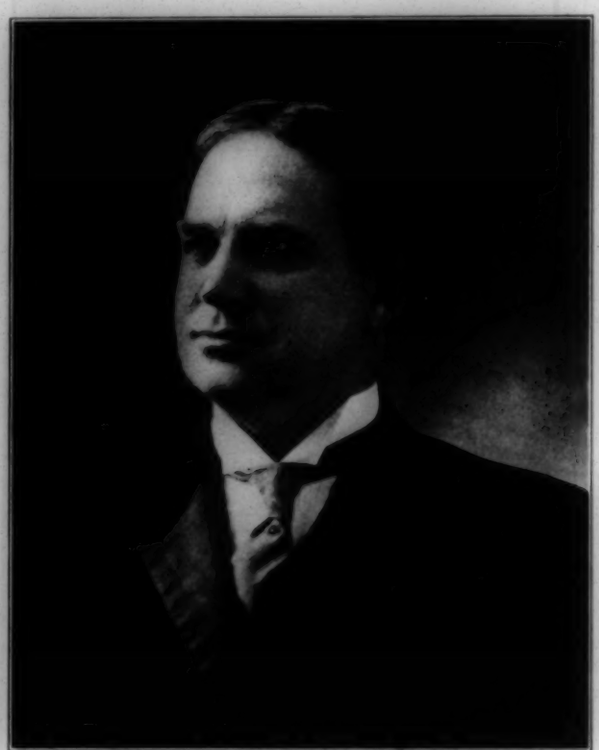
Suffragists consider that the prospects in the Senate are most favorable, and that the amendment will pass by a good majority. Even senators of the opposition are declaring that although they can not themselves vote for the amendment, they hope it will pass.

Social Side of Suffrage in Washington

WHILE the Congressional Committee in Washington is pursuing Senatorial votes for the suffrage amendment, the chairman of headquarters social activities, Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard, has been no less successfully reminding social and official Washington of the pending suffrage issue, by means of hospitality to its wives and daughters. Suffrage House at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue is the center, every Wednesday afternoon, of a gathering of large numbers of the most prominent women in Washington—which nowadays means not only the most prominent women of Washington, but the most prominent women of the United States, for the most distinguished citizens of the country, men and women both, are now mobilized at the nation's capital for war service.

At the fourth of a series of weekly teas, held Wednesday afternoon, January 30, Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, was the guest of honor. The hostess on this occasion was Mrs. V. Everit Macy, of New York, who is living in Washington this winter. Honor guests on other occasions have been Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, Mrs. Champ Clark, wife of the Speaker of the House, and Mrs. Robert Brand, formerly Miss Phyllis Langhorne, of Virginia, whose husband is at the head of the Northcliffe Commission in the United States.

Among the other prominent women who have dispensed hospitality at these weekly teas are Mrs. Joseph S. Freylinghuysen, wife of the Senator from New Jersey; Mrs. Park Trammell, wife of the Senator from Florida; Mrs. Charles S. Thomas, wife of the Senator from Colorado; Mrs. Morris Sheppard, wife of the Senator from Texas; Mrs. William M. Calder, wife of the Senator from New York; Mrs. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, wife of the Senator from Nebraska; Mrs. John F. Shafroth, wife of the Senator from Colorado; Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, wife of the Senator from Iowa; Mrs. Duncan U. Fletcher, wife of the Senator from Florida; Mrs. Charles Curtis, wife of the Senator from Kansas; Mrs. A. A. Jones, wife of the Senator from New Mexico; Mrs. William H. King, wife of the Senator from Utah; Mrs. Edward Keating, of Colorado, Mrs. John E. Raker of California, Mrs. Horace M. Towner of Iowa and Mrs. Charles B. Timberlake of Colorado, whose husbands are members of the lower House of Congress; Mrs. Victor Murdock; Mrs. William C. Gorgas, wife of the Surgeon General of the Army; Mrs. Carl Vrooman, wife of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, past President General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; Mrs. Le Baron Carleton Colt, daughter-in-law of Senator Colt of Rhode Island; Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip of New York and Washington, and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. J. Norment Powell, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale, Mrs. Hugh Wallace, Mrs. Thorndyke Howe, Mrs. Middleton Beaman, Mrs. L. V. Shepherd, Miss Celeste Childs, Mrs. Floyd Porter, Miss Ellen Hayes, Miss Elizabeth Stevenson, Miss Enid Sims, Miss Margaret Devereux and Miss Mary Duncan Gibson, all of Washington.



HON. HENRY A. BARNHART, OF INDIANA

In reply to inquiries from about 45 readers, we hasten to say that the reason we did not publish a photograph of Representative Barnhart of Indiana, with those of other members of the Hospital Honor Brigade of House Members, was because we couldn't get one in time. Here it is. Mr. Barnhart was brought from the hospital to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. "Publish some more pictures of the men," writes one reader. "It helps us identify them on the floor of the House and the Senate.

Wisconsin's Proud Boast

REPRESENTATIVE NELSON, of Wisconsin, voted aye on January 10, not nay, as he was recorded by error in the *Woman Citizen's* House poll. Representative Nelson is one of the truest friends suffrage ever had. Wisconsin's Woman Suffrage Association is

(*Continued on page* 189)

The Contagion of Freedom

THAT a movement for electoral reform for German women has attained considerable prominence is evidenced by the press reports of a manifesto issued by three national organizations of women within the empire. In spite of the Government's resistance to any recognition of this question until after the war, the woman's department of the Social Democratic Party, the German Imperial Union for Women's Suffrage, and the German Women's Suffrage Society have recently begun a determined campaign for woman suffrage. Their manifesto reads:

"Up to the present Germany stands in the lowest rank of nations as regards women's rights. In most civilized lands women have already been given a large share in public affairs. German women have been granted nothing except within insignificant limits. In New Zealand, Australia, and most American States, and even before the war in Finland and Norway, they had been given political rights. To-day England, Sweden, Russia, and many other countries give them a full or limited franchise. The war has brought a full victory to the women of England, Canada, Russia, and Denmark, and large concessions are within sight in France, Holland, and Hungary.

"Among us Germans, not only the national, but even the communal franchise is denied, or even a share in the industrial and commercial courts. In the demand for the democratization of German public life, our legislators do not seem to admit even the existence of women—the question is limited to the extension of the share of citizens of the male sex in administrative and legislative affairs.

"BUT during the war the cooperation of the women in public life has unostentatiously grown from year to year, until to-day the number of women engaged in various callings in Germany exceeds the number of men. The work they are doing includes all spheres of male activity; without them it would no longer be possible to support the economic life of the people. Women have done their share in the work of the community. Does not this performance of duty involve the right to share in the building up and extension of the social order?

"The women protest against this lack of political rights, in virtue both of their work for the community and of their worth as human beings. They demand political equality with men. They demand the direct, equal, and secret franchise for all legislative bodies, full equality in the communes and in legal representation of their interests. This first joint pronouncement on women's demands will be followed by others until the victory of our cause is won."

THIS bold appeal of German women suffragists is the more significant because it comes from federated bodies of women working for electoral reforms. In 1916, at a convention in Weimar, two societies, the Deutscher Verbund and the Deutscher Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht amalgamated. Out of the Union grew the present Imperial Union, or Deutscher Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht.

Various societies in all the states of the Empire are represented in this union. Its officers are: Frau Marie Stritt, Dresden, president; Dr. Li Fischer-Eckert of Haven-Eppenhaussen, vice-president; Frau Alma Dzialoszymsky of Berlin, corresponding secretary; Frau Illa Uth of Duesseldorf, recording secretary, and Frau Ida Dehmel of Hamburg, treasurer.

When the union was consummated, in 1916, it was not expected that any general demand for national suffrage would be made until the close of the war. On October 8 and 9, 1917, another meeting of the union was held, when the question of "gaining new rights" was presented to the conference by Dr. Margaret Siebert of Leipzig. When the Prussian Franchise Reform bill was announced votes for women were not even hinted at, and anti-suffragists in Germany, who seem to be synonymous with the present controlling forces in the German Government, are trying very hard to suppress all public discussion of women's enfranchisement. They have not only stifled news of the American and British suffrage victories, but are vociferously decrying the intrusion of women into political affairs, Count von Reventlow holding that votes for women will bring about the complete ruin of Germany.

Documentary Evidence

THOSE 1,020,000 signatures of New York women who wanted the vote have served a good purpose. They are still serving a purpose and will continue to do so for a long time, according to a statement made by Mrs. Charles Tiffany, the new chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party for Manhattan Borough.

In a speech at the board meeting of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association at the Hotel McAlpin on January 25, she pointed out the fact that these lists will make a basis for educating women of the state and for getting out the woman's vote at election time.

"Getting that white enrollment list of the women was the best thing we ever did," said Mrs. Tiffany. "We had the signature of every woman who said she wanted to vote, and, no matter how illiterate she might be, it was her signature, and she had sworn that she had never signed another list. It made the greatest impression on the men. In some small townships we had more women than there were male Republicans and Democrats together in the place. The men might be hidebound anti-suffragists, but they had no arguments to answer such documents as that. We shall continue to use those lists in reaching the women who want to vote.

"We want New York State to be the first to ratify the Federal Amendment. Then we want to educate the women in the technique and principle of voting. We want the women to determine their political principles for themselves, becoming Democrats or Republicans as they think best. That is why we, as a suffrage party, have remained non-partisan."

Taking Men's Places

A NOVEL way in which a man's place is being taken by a woman is the election of Mrs. Ralph Smith to the seat vacated by her husband's death in the provincial parliament of British Columbia.

The election occurred on January 24, and the returns on January 25, showed Mrs. Smith as leading in every ward of the city.

(*Continued from page 188*)

proud of him and not in the least inclined to have him listed in the wrong column by mistake. Mrs. Theodora W. Youmans, president of the association, says that "Analyzing the vote in the House of Representatives on that historic day, January 10, I find that my own section of the country, the Middle West, demonstratted its leadership in progressive democracy, following close after the equal suffrage states. The states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma cast a total of 120 votes in favor of the amendment and a total of five votes against it. Is any non-suffrage section of the U. S. A. prepared to contest our claim to championship?"

What's the Matter With the New Senator from Nevada?

Senator Charles B. Henderson, who was appointed by Governor Boyle of Nevada to succeed the late Senator Francis G. Newlands, has announced his firm determination to champion political freedom for all American women. "I am for woman suffrage because I do not consider that persons are free unless they have a voice in the government under which they live," the Senator declared.

Ten million women: "*He's all right.*"

Iowa Celebrates

PRACTICALLY every congressional district in Iowa had its special celebration in honor of the victory in the House. A reception at the home of Miss Anna B. Lawther, state suffrage president, brought together the men and women of Dubuque who worked to bring Iowa into the suffrage column two years ago. The state executive board of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association was in conference on January 22, to outline a three months' campaign of work. There was much rejoicing over the ten votes given by the Iowa congressmen for the Federal Amendment, only one vote of the eleven going against the measure.

Citizenship in Nebraska

ALTHOUGH the State of Nebraska denies full suffrage to its women, it has been placed in the position of extending the rights and privileges of citizenship to many thousands of alien enemies. An examination of draft questionnaires returned by the men of military age in the state showed that approximately 20,000 men were claiming exemption from service on the ground that they are aliens, although they have been exercising all the rights of a citizen for many years. Many years ago the State of Nebraska, in making a bid for foreign settlers offered full citizenship to all men who took out their first naturalization papers. The result was that thousands of these aliens never went farther than their first papers, though many of them have been living in the state for more than twenty years. The patriotic men of the state are now conducting a campaign to amend the constitution so that rights of citizenship may be taken away from alien enemies, and the Council of Defense is circulating a petition asking the Legislature to set the proper machinery in motion. Patriotic Nebraskans are indignant because their soldiers in the army are denied the right to vote while the country's enemies are entitled to participate in the government.

A Corner in Publicity

TIME was when woman suffrage crept into the newspapers by way of the local column along with the church sociable and the sewing society. Time was when it gained headlines only as brave women marched with banners on foot through the streets. Time was, and that not so long ago, when some newspapers not so quick of perception as others were calling suffrage "a dead issue." Such a time happened late in 1915 after four states of the East had lost in one election. But "the dead issue" became a phoenix and rose on mighty wings.

Now it needs no banners, no pageants, to make suffrage a space getter. Newspaper returns here shown partly cover two recent Washington events, the National American Woman Suffrage Association's 49th Annual Convention, in December, and the House vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment on January 10. These are only some of the newspaper returns. Some returns for all that.

THE story of the Convention alone shows that newspapers in 44 states were interested in the fact that suffragists had gone to Washington for their annual convention. More than 300 of these stories were illustrated with pictures of suffrage leaders, not of women doing dramatic stunts, but of women making quiet speeches to their Senators and Congressmen and appealing for the enfranchisement of themselves and their sisters. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, speaking for the same cause, were the butt of press ridicule.

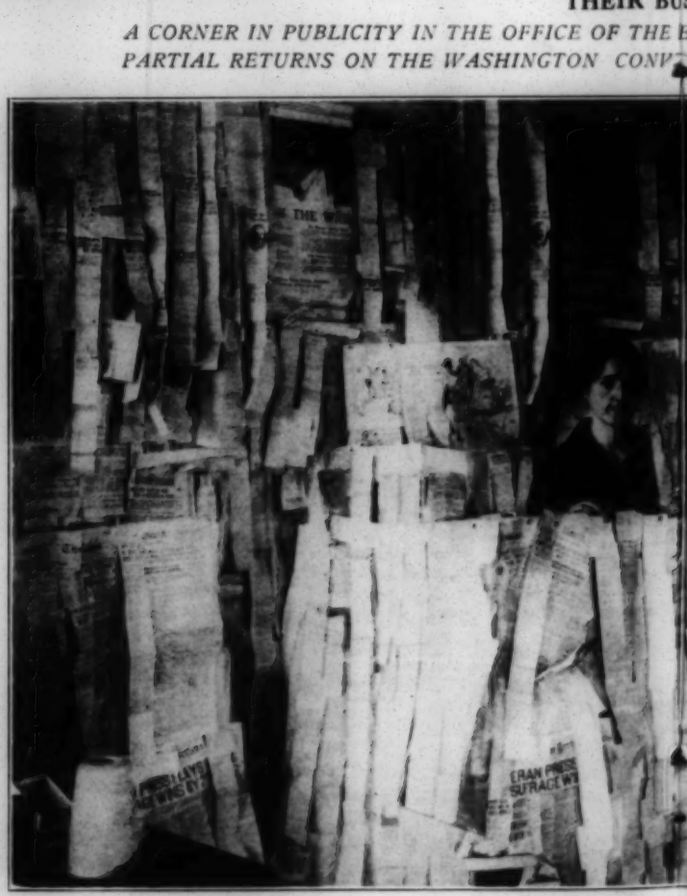
In this publicity there were no less than 500,000 words, none in ridicule and most of them in sympathy. Together the two stories aggregated 2,700 clippings from 1,100 newspapers, 24,620 inches or 1,200 newspaper columns. Translated into the terms of length and breadth, this is 427 square feet of space, or it is sufficient length to extend more than 10 city blocks. It would reach from Broadway to the top of the Woolworth Tower nearly three times over, or across the East River span of the Brooklyn Bridge with 500 feet to spare.

OR, to put it all in still more familiar terms, when the Woman Citizen went to press and this history was halted, the printed words used by the newspapers of the country in telling the stories of these two events bulked more than 1,000,000 words. They would make the stylish modern trilogy, the twentieth century substitute for the old three volume novel, look like a tract. Even Jean Christophe or the entire series of Nexo's Pelle, the Conqueror, would be out-distanced by this romance of freedom.

Out of the 500 editorials returned to headquarters within the first few days after the House vote, far the greater part were in approval of a favorable and swift settlement of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

THEIR BU

A CORNER IN PUBLICITY IN THE OFFICE OF THE
PARTIAL RETURNS ON THE WASHINGTON CONV



OVERCOME BY

A FEW NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS ON THE PASSAGE
MENT THROUGH THE HOUSE ON JANUARY
AFTER THE VOTE WHEN ONLY THE FIRST
RETURNED TO

BUSY DAY

E EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN.
NTION FROM 44 STATES ARE HERE SHOWN

BY THE NEWS

OF THE FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMEND-
. THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN IMMEDIATELY
FRACTION OF THE CLIPPINGS HAD BEEN
THE OFFICE

To Light Him on His Way

SUFFRAGISTS may have cornered the market on news but they are neither monopolists nor profiteers. None of this publicity is to be wasted. After a continuous story is filed so that the children's children of the women of to-day may read what women did and said in the year of our Lord 1918 to get their enfranchisement, the remainder will be used to do its war conservation bit.

The filed record will show the appeals made by the women of state after state to their representatives in Congress. It will hold forever dear the names and memories of men who spoke for the freedom of one-half the adult members of the Republic of the United States. But after the story is complete, basketfuls of clippings which repeat the same facts will remain. These will not be thrown away; they will be used to light the boys in the trenches.

WHEN Miss Katherine Fairbairn, head-worker of Armitage House, saw these masses of long newspaper streamers already cut into convenient strips, she asked that they should be sent to the boys of one of her clubs who are cutting newspapers into just such strips and making them into trench candles.

It takes just 8 columns of tightly rolled newspaper to make one candle. Two long columns are rolled very tight for a central stem. Then the other six are rolled around this stem and tied with a fine cord. To judge if the candle is firm enough it is held to the light, and if no glimmer gets through, it is sufficiently compact. For every 250 candles $1.00 worth of paraffin is necessary. The candles are rapidly boiled for 15 minutes and then slowly steeped in the hot paraffin for another 35 minutes when they are fished out with a fork like a very hot doughnut, and set up to harden. This they do at once. Candles made in this manner will burn with a big hot flame for two and one-half or three hours. Soldiers use them to heat their food and dry their clothes and even for warmth and light.

AMERICAN boys in France from Idaho and Nebraska and Maine and Texas will be warming their food or writing their letters home by the light of the candles rolled out of their home papers on which are printed the immortal words of the struggle for democracy waged for seventy years by their mothers and mothers' mothers in the land for which they are fighting and enduring great sacrifices. And the trench candles will be one more symbol of the fact that democracy for men and women, for old and young, for France and Italy and Armenia and Serbia and the United States is all one.

NEITHER the Convention story nor the Federal Amendment story was complete when this accounting was made. On both stories clippings were still coming in at the rate of 165 a day, but the counters were very tired and the press was waiting.

"Continuously Praying"

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE

THE very first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteed "the right of the people to *petition* the Government for a redress of grievances."

Under this constitutional right, women for a long series of years have petitioned Congress and their state Legislatures to give them a voice in their own government. Petition upon petition has been laboriously collected, ending always in humble plaint, "for this your petitioners do continuously pray." This continuously praying business has been overdone. It has reached its limit in the mammoth petition of one million twenty thousand women of New York state who wish to vote.

To form a slight idea of the effort the women have expended, just glance back over the long list of recorded petitions that women have rolled up in the past. This list is culled from the History of Woman Suffrage as the petitions happen to be mentioned in its pages. It must of necessity represent but a very small part of the total number of petitions which the women of the United States have rolled up at uncounted cost, labor and sacrifice.

THE first recorded woman's rights petition was gathered by Mary Ayres and presented to the New York Legislature in 1834. It was ten or fifteen feet long and presumably is still buried in the vaults of the Capitol at Albany.

		Signatures
1836	Mrs. Ernestine Rose—First Petition for Married Women to Hold Real Estate in Own Name—to New York Legislature	5
1853	Massachusetts Constitutional Convention Petition	2,000
	Massachusetts Petition for Temperance Law	50,000
	New York State Petition for Prohibition Law	28,000
	New York State Petition for Suffrage	13,000
1854	Massachusetts Legislature Petition	5,931
	Massachusetts Senate Petition	4,164
1857	Ohio—Petition—Canvassing	10,000
1859	Indiana—Petition	1,000
1861	Woman's National Loyal League Mammoth Petition Against Slavery	400,000
	Many refused to sign, as slavery was "a divine institution"—One woman who had lost her husband and two sons travelled 100 miles on foot for 1,000 names.	
1865	**Reward**—"Male" inserted in *XV* Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.	
	Petitions at once vs. "Male". "Endless Petitions"	50,000
1867	New York State Constitutional Convention Petition	20,000
	Petitions for XVI Amendment	6,000
1869	Petitions to Massachusetts Legislature	8,000
	St. Louis received "2,000 Petitions of taxpaying ladies, owning assessed property of $14,490,119"	2,000
1870	Nebraska Legislature	1,000
	Petitions rolled up—New York State Legislature praying for the right of suffrage...."Numberless"	
1873	Ohio petition to Constitutional Convention	1,500
1875	Indiana Petition—Temperance Women	10,000
1876	Petitions from one State	35,000
	"Some from every State" (estimate)	1,050,000
	Names at Centennial	50,000
1876	Petition for Presidential Suffrage made in New York State; reported adversely by Judiciary Committee ..."Unnumbered"	
1876	Call for new petitioners for XVI Amendment	300,000
	Petitions to 44th Congress	10,000
1877	November — National Suffrage Association sent out thousands of petitions.	
	Poured into Washington at rate of *1,000 a day* from 26 different States	26,000
	In one month (estimate)	1,000,000
	10,000 names in a day to the House	10,000
	W. C. T. U. sent	30,000
	Lucy Stone	6,261
	In One Session	70,000
	Illinois Temperance Petition	180,000
1878	Missouri Legislature	6,000
	Senator Frye of Maine presented Miss Willard's petition for woman's right to vote on temperance question	30,000
1879	Massachusetts sent 98 petitions	98,000
	Illinois Temperance Petition	180,000
1880	Petitions to State Legislatures—no count, but if as above, another million	1,000,000
	House documents	66,000
	House signatures	12,000
1881	Indiana Petition for Presidential Suffrage	5,000
	Bill lost—declared unconstitutional.	
1882	Petition for women to be admitted to Columbia College	1,200
	Total	4,778,061
1866	In England, John Stuart Mill presented the first Woman Suffrage Petition of	1,499
	March 28	33,559
	April	3,161
	Parliamentary Session	13,497
1868	75 Petitions—Names	50,000
1869	255 " "	61,475
1870	663 " "	134,561
1871	622 " "	186,976
1872	829 " "	350,093
1873	919 " "	329,206
1874	1494 " "	430,343
1875	1273 " "	415,622
10 yrs.	6137 Petitions	2,091,773

As a result of these ten years work "it became evident that Parliament cared little for a *long roll of names from unrepresented classes.*"

Here we pause for want of breath, before even one state has been carried by a suffrage referendum. As the great suffrage movement becomes stronger and stronger, petitions are redoubled. On every possible occasion the women "roll up" petitions—their one constitutional weapon.

IN the 1915 campaign in New York state, there were 183 campaign committees with 2,500 women holding unpaid official positions, giving most of their time. There were 1,200 school teachers devotedly serving. More than 200,000 women were actively working throughout the state. More than 10,000 meetings were held in the last six months. On Election Day 6,330 women watched at the polls.

There were three other large states, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, who carried on a similar campaign in 1915.

Multiply these enumerated activities by four, and you can form some idea of the suffragists' battle for one year.

The total number of referenda to the voters that the women have achieved is 50.

Multiply the above by 50 and you are still more enlightened as to the work necessary by the "continuously praying" method.

THIS country is at war. To win, it will need the utmost of devotion, money, time and efficient service of every man and woman. Release the unenfranchised women from their continuous praying that they may not be obliged to carry the double burden of work for the ballot with the exacting work of patriotic service. This nation needs its women. The women need the ballot as never before. Never has an unenfranchised group of men made one-thousandth, nay, one-millionth part the effort that the women of this land of liberty have been forced to make to obtain the vote.

Men of America, the eyes of the world are upon you. The new born Russian republic watches you. The German autocracy watches you. *Are* you fighting for Democracy? Then *prove* it. Make democracy win at home. *That* battle is in your hands.

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE.

For the Federal Suffrage Amendment

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association was organized in 1869 for the express purpose of petitioning Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. Its leaders have appealed to every Congress since that date. As early as 1866 they had begun to carry their case to the national law making body, and their continuous arguments have made a chain of protest against women's national disfranchisement from then until now.

Excerpts from the speeches of the early leaders here given in chronological order show how the whole ground of reasoning for the Amendment was covered by these pioneer women before those now pleading with the Congress for this Amendment were born.

"FOR twenty years we have labored to bring the statute laws of the several states into harmony with the broad principles of the Constitution, and have been so far successful that in many of them little remains to be done except to secure the right of suffrage. Hence our prompt protest against the propositions before Congress to introduce the word 'male' into the Federal Constitution, which, if successful, would sanction all state action in withholding the ballot from women. As the only way in which disfranchised citizens can appear before you, we availed ourselves of the sacred right of petition. . . . Some tell us it is not judicious to press the claims of women now; that this is not the time. Time? When you propose legislation so fatal to the best interests of women and the nation, shall we be silent until after the deed is done? No! As we love justice, we must resist tyranny. As we honor the position of American Senator, we must appeal from the politician to the man."

From Address to Congress Protesting Against the Word "Male" in the 14th Amendment, Prepared by Elizabeth Cady Stanton *and* Susan B. Anthony *and Adopted by the National Woman's Rights Convention in 1866.*

"WE ask you to enfranchise the women of the District this very winter, so that next March they may go to the ballot-box, and all the people of this nation may see that it is possible for women to vote and the republic yet stand. There is no reason, no argument, nothing but prejudice, against our demand; and there is no way to break down this prejudice but to make the experiment. Therefore, we most earnestly urge it, in full faith that so soon as Congress and the people shall have witnessed its beneficial results, they will go forward with a Sixteenth Amendment which shall prohibit any state from disfranchising any of its citizens on account of sex."

Susan B. Anthony *Before Joint Congressional Committees of the District of Columbia, 1870.*

"WHEN we come asking protection under the new guarantees of the Constitution, the same men say to us that our only plan is to await the action of Congress and state Legislatures in the adoption of a Sixteenth Amendment which shall make null and void the word 'male' in the Fourteenth, and supply the want of the word 'sex' in the Fifteenth. Such tantalizing treatment imposed upon yourselves or any class of men would have caused rebellion and in the end a bloody revolution. It is only the close relations existing between the sexes which have prevented any such result from this injustice to women. . . . Although I am a Quaker and take no oath, yet I have made a most solemn 'affirmation' that I will never again beg my rights, but will come to Congress each year and demand the recognition of them under the guarantees of the National Constitution."

"IT'S THE ONLY WAY OVER, SIR."

Susan B. Anthony *Before Senate Judiciary Committee, 1872.*

"YOU sit here, gentlemen, in judgment on my rights as an American citizen, as though they were something different from your own! By whatsoever title you sit in these seats and make laws, wise or unwise, just or unjust, for this great people, by that same title do I claim my share in this great responsibility, owing allegiance to God and my own conscience alone. I may have been born with less capacity than the least among you, with small chance of growing to your mental stature, or reaching your standard of moral elevation; but I have a perfect right to sit in your midst, pigmy that I may be, since I am one of 'the people' who did ordain this glorious old Constitution, and one of 'the governed,' whose consent is made the basis of a government that can be called just."

Isabella Beecher Hooker *Before Senate Judiciary Committee in 1872.*

"SOME say that 'privileges and immunities' do not include the right of suffrage. We answer that any person under Government who has no voice in the laws or the rulers has his privileges and immunities abridged at every turn, and when a state denies the right of suffrage, it robs the citizen of his citizenship and of all power to protect his person or property by law. Disfranchised classes are ever helpless and degraded classes. . . .

"All power centers in the people. Our Federal Constitution, as well as that of every state, opens with the words, 'We, the people.' However this phrase may have been understood and acted on in the past, women today are awake to the fact that they constitute one-half the American people; that they have the right to demand that the constitution shall secure to them 'justice,' 'domestic tranquility,' and the 'blessings of liberty.' So long as women are not represented in the government they are in a condition of tutelege, perpetual minority, slavery.

"We have declared in favor of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, the whole people. Why not begin the experiment? If suffrage is a natural right, we claim it in common with all citizens; if it is a political right, that the few in power may give or take away, then it is clearly the duty of the ruling powers to extend it in all cases as the best interests of the state require."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton *Before Senate Judiciary Committee, 1872.*

"THE time is coming when the demand of an immense number of women of this country cannot be ignored. When you see these representatives coming from all the states of the Union to ask for this right, can you doubt that, some day, they will succeed in their mission? We do not stand before you to plead as beggars; we ask for that which is our right. We ask it as due to the memory of our ancestors, who fought for the freedom of this country just as bravely as did yours. We ask it on many considerations. Why, gentlemen, the very furniture here, the carpet on this floor, was paid for with our money. We are taxed equally with the men to defray the expenses of this Congress and we have a right, equally with them, to participate in the government. In closing, I have only to ask, is there no man here present who appreciates the emergencies of this hour? Is there no one among you who will rise on the floor of Congress as the champion of this unrepresented

(*Continued on page 196*)

Citizenship in National Government
The Vote and the Voter

By Mary Sumner Boyd

WHAT is Citizenship? For the time being, in order to have a working definition, we will say that citizens are of two kinds: full or "active" citizens who have both political and civil rights, and partial or "passive" citizens—these will give us some trouble later—who have civil rights alone. Only as citizen of a state can an American have full citizenship for only in this way can he have voting rights. But only as a citizen of the United States does he gain the fundamentals of civil rights.

With certain important limitations, the Federal Constitution leaves to the states the decision as to who shall be full voting citizens and who shall not. On their part, the states with the exception of eight, in conferring voting citizenship lay down as one requirement that a voter must have first of all that degree of citizenship which the United States Government alone can give. The eight exceptional states (Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Texas) give voting rights to aliens who have taken out their first papers, "declared their intention" to become citizens of the United States. Among jurists there is doubt as to whether these states have not assumed a power to which they have no right in allowing persons not yet naturalized to vote for members of Congress. A case has never come to Federal courts however, and the Federal Constitution, in the first of its four important references to voting qualifications, specifically provides that electoral qualifications in respect to Congress shall be left to the states. Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States says: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen . . . by the people of the several states and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature."

IN only two respects, one minor and one major, does the Federal Constitution control voting citizenship. Of presidential elections, Article II, Section 2, says: "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof shall decree a number of electors." The United States decrees that not the electors enumerated by state constitutions but those decided on by the state legislatures shall elect the president of the United States.

The major limitation on the states' power to determine voting citizenship is the XV Amendment of the United States Constitution. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Historically this amendment was preceded by Article XIV, Section 2, which attempted indirectly to give the franchise to male negroes in respect to federal officials and legislators by providing that representation in Congress should be reduced in the same proportions as the number of male citizens twenty-one years and over, denied the franchise by a state bears to the whole number of male citizens of voting age in that state.

THE conferring of civil *rights* is another matter, for on the one hand many civil rights are conferred by the state, and on the other, both Federal and state governments confer many civil rights on citizen and resident alien alike. It is because of these three classes of civil rights that the civics books are so unsatisfactory in their definitions of the word citizen. "Citizens," says one primer, "are all the people, men, women and children, who live in one place." "Citizens," says the ordinary person, going to the other extreme and including all possible citizens' rights, "are voters." "Citizens," we may say, leaving out the political or "active" group and limiting ourselves to "passive" rights, "are those who have *full civil rights* in the United States and in the state wherein they reside."

State laws determine many civil rights; they may, for instance, as in Virginia, prevent a woman—who, the opponents of suffrage are apt to tell us, has equal civil citizenship with men—from practicing law, or as in Delaware, from having an equal claim with her husband to her children, or, as in Louisiana, from having equal control of the community property with her husband. Since there are forty-eight states with forty-eight codes it is impracticable to specify here what the state civil rights of citizens consist in.

THE first eight amendments of the Federal Constitution are always thought of as giving civil rights to American citizens. They did, in fact, give civil rights *to all residents or inhabitants of the country, alien or citizen.* These rights are freedom of religion, of speech, of assemblage and of petition, right to bear arms, to public trial, to trial by jury, security from seizure of life, liberty or property without due process of law, from excessive bail fines and penalties and from the burden of quartering soldiers in time of peace.

Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court in the Slaughter House cases sums up the Federal Civil rights of citizens and inhabitants. The citizen of the United States has "the right to seek its protection, share its offices, transact business and engage in administering its functions. He has the right to free access to its seaports through which all operations of foreign commerce are conducted, to the sub-treasuries and land offices in the several states.

"Another privilege of the citizen of the United States is to demand care and protection of the Federal Government over his life, liberty and property on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of another government. Right to use navigable waters of the United States, however they may penetrate the territory of the states, all rights secured to our citizens by treaties with foreign nations are dependent upon citizenship of the United States and not citizenship of a state. A citizen of the United States can, of his own volition, become a citizen of any state of the Union by bona fide residence therein, with the same rights as other citizens of the state."

Lectures *of* Especial Timeliness

Woman's Dress *in the Philosophy of the Hour*

Woman, the War, and After

Woman's Opportunity as Citizen

The Armenian Woman in War

***By* Bertha S. Papazian**

"One of the most brilliant orators who has been brought before the public in the Suffrage Cause." Press Department.
—*New York State Suffrage Party.*

"Few speakers have had her training and experience. To these technical advantages still less common is it to find joined her liberal culture and progressive mind. The more there are of such voices, the better it will be for the public."—*Mary Gray Peck, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1915.)*

"Reports without exception enthusiastic and favorable."—*Violet Moraweetz, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1917.)*

Address

Bertha S. Papazian
HOTEL MARTHA WASHINGTON
NEW YORK CITY

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Fritters, Breads and Pastries

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Deferred Conventions

THE Alabama Equal Suffrage Association has decided to postpone its state convention, announced for February, until some time later because of the difficulties of transportation and other unpropitious conditions. The executive board came to this decision at its session held in Birmingham last week, and at the same time the board projected comprehensive plans for a state-wide campaign for the Federal Amendment.

Several hundred were present at the Birmingham celebration of the passage of the Federal Amendment in the House. Mrs. J. B. Parke of Selma, State Chairman, and Mrs. Solon Jacobs were among the speakers.

MICHIGAN'S big convention scheduled for January, has likewise had to be postponed.

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Persian Rugs—unusually beautiful; quaint designs; harmonious colorings; thick nap; suitable for library or dining room.

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Hundreds of Small and Medium-Size Persian and Chinese Rugs
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Add a Fourteenth Star to the Suffrage Service Flag

ANOTHER star has been added to the suffrage service flag in honor of Dr. Ethel Lyon Heard of Galveston, Texas, who is serving with the American Red Cross at Chalons, fifteen miles from the German guns. Dr. Heard left Galveston to enlist in war service work last August, shortly after her husband, Dr. Allen G. Heard, had been commissioned in the medical corps and had left for Europe. She sailed last September in company with nine women physicians of the Child's Welfare Division of the Red Cross. Just prior to leaving Galveston, Dr. Heard was president of the Woman's Health Protective Association of that city and vice-president of the Galveston Equal Suffrage Association, being also one of its past presidents.

Shortly after taking up her work in the Red Cross headquarters at Paris there came a call from the directors of a foundation of the English Société des Amis for a resident physician, and Dr. Heard was assigned the position, which took her to Chalons, from which point she writes: "One hears the guns by day and by night—they shake the house. One can see aeroplanes any time, and streams of cannons and ambulances and all such go by all day long. We are about fifteen miles from the lines."

Mrs. Heard pays unqualified tribute to the work of reconstruction being done by the Society of Friends, and tells of the tremendous work being carried on for the women and children. Stationed, as she is, at a maternity hospital, Mrs. Heard sees this phase of the work first hand. More than 500 babies have made their entree at this particular hospital since its establishment and at the time of writing there were twenty-five little tots, under three years of age, waiting to be sent to homes. They had been sent out of the region near the battle line because too little to wear gas masks.

Something of the spirit of the worker is shown in Dr. Heard's closing paragraph, "We work under all sorts of difficulties and all sorts of adverse conditions—but it doesn't matter a bit so long as we get things done. One learns quickly to expect to be cold, muddy and meagerly fed."

DR. ETHEL LYON HEARD

Dr. Heard tells of her husband's attempt to order a bedroom and bath at a Paris hotel, using his own brand of French to accomplish the feat—the result was unexpected. Two bottles of beer were handed him.

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Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL. B., President, Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law" and "The Heart of Blackstone"

Still Womanly!

AT the Agricultural and Industrial Exposition held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, the Minnehaha County Franchise League carried off the $50 prize for the best exhibit of needlework at the exposition. The prize was awarded in competition with several other societies famed for their ability to fashion useful and pretty things. The suffragists of this same county organization for the last two years have held the record for selling the greatest number of Red Cross seals. Minnehaha County recorded, at the last election, a gain of more than one thousand votes for suffrage, or about one-sixth of the gain of the entire state.

Federal Suffrage Amendment

(*Continued from page* 193)

half of the people of the United States?"

Lillie Devereux Blake *Before House Judiciary Committee, 1880.*

"I HAVE mentioned eight classes of United States voters, and yet not one of the states has been deprived of the powers necessary to local self-government. To states belong all matters of strictly local interest, such as the incorporation of towns and cities, the settlement of county and other boundaries; laws of marriage, divorce, protection of life and property, etc. It has been said the ordaining and establishment of a constitution for the government of a state is always the act of a state in its highest sovereign capacity, but if any question as to nationality ever existed, it was settled by the war. Even state constitutions were found unable to stand when in conflict with a law of the United States or an amendment to its Constitution. All are bound by the authority of the nation. . . . I ask for a Sixteenth Amendment because this republic is a nation and not a confederacy of states. I ask it because the United States not only possesses inherent power to protect its citizens but also because of its national duty to secure to all its citizens the exercise of their rights of self government."

Matilda Joslyn Gage *Before House Judiciary Committee, 1880.*

"THIS is the fifteenth year we have appeared before Congress in person, and the nineteenth by petitions, asking national protection for women in the exercise of their right to vote. In the winter of 1865 and 1866 we sent your honorable body a ten-thousand prayer, asking you not to put 'male' in the second section of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment; and again we appealed to you by thousands of petitions that you would add 'sex' after 'race or color' in the Fifteenth, but all to no avail. Then by an eighty-thousand petition in 1871 we demanded the enactment of a declaratory law that women had the right to vote under the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, too, was denied us, not only by Congress but by the Supreme Court, which held that the framers of the amendment had only 'colored men' in their thought, therefore none others could come within its purview. From 1876 to the present we have from year to year poured into Congress hundreds of thousands of petitions asking you to take the initiative step for another amendment which shall specifically prohibit the disfranchisement of women. But, you say, why do you not go to your several states to secure this right? I answer, because we have neither the women nor the money to make the canvasses of the thirty-eight states, school district by school district, to educate each individual man out of the old belief that women was created to be his subject."

Susan B. Anthony *Before Senate and House Committees in 1884.*

"IT is in the grand order of these ideas that I stand here to advocate the enfranchisement of my sex. Morally, socially, intellectually equal with men, it is right that we should be politically equal with them in a society which claims to recognize and uphold one equal humanity. I do not say it is our right. I say it is right—God's right and the world's. In the name of high sentiment then, in the name of all that good men profess, I ask that the gracious act may be consummated which will admit us to the place that henceforth befits us, that of equal participants with you in the sovereignty of the people."

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe *at the National-American Convention, 1890.*

"THE ballot has been for man a means of defending these natural rights. Even now in some localities of the world those rights are still defended by the revolver, as in former days, but in peaceable communities the ballot is the weapon by means of which they are protected. We find, as women citizens, that when we are wronged, when our rights are infringed upon, inasmuch as we have not this weapon with which to defend them, they are not considered, and we are very many times imposed upon. We find that the true liberty of the American people demands that all citizens to whom these rights have been accorded should have that weapon."

Mrs. Chapman Catt *at the National-American Convention, 1892.*

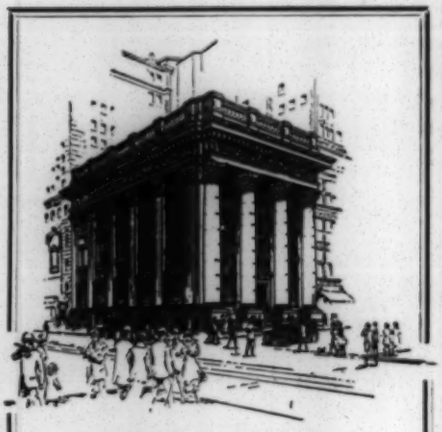
"YESTERDAY I noticed in a report of our hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the House the headline, 'Appeals to Deaf Ears.' And I said, 'Has it come to this, that when earnest and sincere women of this great country make an appeal to the heads of the Government it is dubbed an 'Appeal to Deaf Ears?' Time was when the British Government thought our ancestors had not sufficient merit in their cause to be heard. Then they made an 'appeal to deaf ears.' But the time came when those ears were unstopped and they heard, and what they heard was the cry of victory by a free people. We may be appealing to deaf ears today, but the time is coming when it will not be so. Men will hear and, hearing, they will answer, because ultimately men desire the right. If I were asked what I conscientiously believe the real condition of the hearts of most men to be, I should say they are positively ignorant in regard to the justice of this matter, and if it could be brought properly before them, they would stand on the side of justice and right for women."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw *at the National-American Convention, 1892.*

"I COME before this committee with the sense which I always feel, that we are handicapped as women in what we try to do for ourselves by the single fact that we have no vote. This cheapens us. You do not care so much for us as if we had votes, so that we come always with that infinite disadvantage.

"But the thing I want to say particularly is that we have our immortal Declaration of Independence and the various bills of rights of the different states (George Washington advised us to recur often to first principles), and in these nothing is clearer than the basis of the claim that women should have equal rights with men. A complete government is a perfectly just government."

Lucy Stone *at the National-American Convention, 1892.*



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In anticipation of the demand for these fabrics, which will be greater than ever before, we have secured from the foremost manufacturers in France, Switzerland, and Great Britain the choicest products of their looms.

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The assortment comprises *French Cotton Crepes, Japanese Cotton Crepes, Heavy Silk and Cotton Crepes (French), French Silk and Cotton Crepon.* These materials are offered in both White and plain colors.

French Crepes in new printed or woven effects. *Organdies* from Switzerland in plain shades, Self-Stripes, Checks, and Plaids. *French and English Voiles,* every shade desired, printed or woven effects in pleasing color-combinations. *Swisses from St. Gall,* White grounds with Dots of color, or colored grounds with White or contrasting Dots. *Ecru* with White, or all White, in almost endless variety.

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Handkerchief Linens in plain colors and White, new Checks and Stripes, and the heavier Linens in every desirable shade.

Samples are now ready and may be had upon request.

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Women's Oversea Hospitals of the U. S. A.

IT has just been decided by the National American Woman Suffrage Association that the title of the hospital unit in France to be established with its backing shall be "Women's Oversea Hospitals of the U. S. A."

For about ten seconds the title was "Women's Foreign Service Hospitals," but the new and more euphonious name came along and superseded the other.

Under the guidance of Drs. Gregory, Edward and Van Sholly, three of the women doctors of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, founded by that pioneer woman physician, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the unit is completing its final arrangements, preparatory to leaving for France by the middle of February. This is in answer to a message from France cabled by Dr. Caroline Finley, director of the unit, who went to France to make preliminary arrangements several weeks ago. Dr. Finley cables her colleagues to bring six doctors, twelve nurses, eighteen aides, an aurist, a dentist and "not to forget the mechanicians." A fifty-bed hospital is to be established at Guiscard, in the department of the Aisne, about ten miles back of the junction of the British and French forces. Three adjoining buildings with a walled garden house the hospital. The services of an agriculturist have been secured and seeds will be taken from this country with the thought of making the walled garden productive this spring. The wounded of the shelled towns will be given first attention by the hospital corps.

WOMEN'S CLUBS throughout the country are becoming interested in the plucky little unit that has finally found both a local habitation and a name and undoubtedly a great sphere of usefulness ahead of it. The Colony Club of New York City has already donated a motor truck. Sorosis and Civitas are two other clubs among several that are showing a special interest in the undertaking.

In a cablegram received from Dr. Finley the need of the French people for the help to be secured through the hospital is set forward in a startling sentence or two—"Great need for unit. Civilians taken many miles for hospital treatment. Must do much surgery, need specialists, dispensaries, ambulance service."

It will be recalled that the French High Commissioner, Tardieu, was most hospitable to the idea of the unit from the start. Soon after Dr. Finley's arrival in France, arrangements were made with the French Government whereby the undertaking was given the final stamp of official approval. The Red Cross furnishes the hospital equipment.

Dr. Finley has written that the hospital unit's type of work finds greater favor with the French hospital authorities than the plan of sending separate doctors into various districts because the unit includes various specialties and with greater equipment can be more exact. The women surgeons in the unit will do the gynecological operative work that has been so greatly neglected in France since the war began.

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Hardy Trees, Shrubs and Roses—the kind that live, thrive and bring quick results.
EVER-Bearing Strawberries—fruit from June to November, a full crop of large delicious berries in September and October, the first season planted. Try them.

In Alabama

ON the ground that a discussion of anything political or sectarian is not germane to the policy of their work the Federation of Women's Clubs of Alabama did not take action on the suffrage resolution, as was at first reported. An interesting situation arose in regard to the matter and the press of the state heralded the result as a suffrage victory. Mrs. Julian B. Parke, president of the Alabama State Suffrage Association, presented the suffrage resolution to the Resolutions Committee, but it was not reported out. Knowing that the general sentiment of the body was favorable to the movement, Mrs. Parke offered the resolution from the floor. The vice-president objected to its consideration, but was overwhelmingly defeated on the vote, receiving not more than a fourth of the vote. The Federation's president, however, ruled the resolution out of order and the Alabama Federation remains one of the few that has not endorsed suffrage for women.

THE Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association is offering free instruction in stenography for all those who need such instruction.

Where Is Your State?

FEBRUARY is upon us and we are still straining our ears for a sound from

Texas
Tennessee
Florida
Nebraska
Michigan
Indiana
Maryland

Where are you?

Perhaps you are like Virginia which sends word: "We have been so busy planning a subscription campaign that we have not even taken time to tell you so." Please write so that we may send you our handsome new subscription blanks and receipt books.

Our list of Circulation Chairmen now stands as follows:

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire; Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington

Mrs. Post of New Hampshire has sent out over 200 letters in opening her subscription campaign.

Miss Mary E. Gayer, of Akron, Ohio, writes: "I do not know if Ohio is going in to win this contest. If so, I will turn any credits I have over to my state. Meanwhile I will work as a Co-operating Subscriber, and send you such dollars as I may wring (or wrest) from the innocent bystander. I heard Margaret Foley say at St. Louis, 'You're not a suffragist if you don't read the Journal.' I have quoted this many times. Here's hoping that a thousand suffs feel as strongly as I do and get an oriental hump on."

The Milwaukee County Woman Suffrage Association is sowing seeds of suffrage propaganda and good citizenship by placing *The Woman Citizen* on the table in the welfare rooms of women in factories of Milwaukee. Mrs. L. M. Warfield, acting president, wrote to employers asking permission to place the *Citizen* on the girls' reading tables and the offer has been gratefully accepted in a number of instances. A member of the Milwaukee County association pays the price of each of these subscriptions.' Up to this time the girls employed at the office of the Wisconsin Telephone Company, the Monarch Mfg. Co., Ed. Schuster & Co., The Holeproof Hosiery Co., The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Co., and The Palmolive Co., have been assured the reading of the *Citizen*. Wisconsin recommends this as an admirable missionary plan.

Mrs. John L. Pyle: "I can assure you it is our purpose in South Dakota to have as large a circulation of *The Woman Citizen* as possible."

Mrs. Emma S. Pierce: "North Dakota will do its best to raise its subscriptions to *The Woman Citizen*."

If our premium contest had started back in the summer sometime, we believe that Dr. Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa would have carried off a whole state prize single-handed. She has sent us 119 new subscribers in the last few months. This is of course only incidental work for Dr. Jones, who has campaigned for suffrage during the past year in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Ohio and Maine, beside pursuing her usual duties as lecturer and Methodist minister. We have written to Dr. Jones asking her to tell us just how she does it and we expect to print her answer in an early issue.

Our Subscription Drive is gaining hourly in momentum. Have you felt the shock of it in your local league? How many women in your town subscribe to *The Woman Citizen?* What are you doing to increase the number? Don't lag behind. Get a head-start for the Third Premium.

---

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
v. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

And never forget that

the future success of The *Woman Citizen* depends absolutely upon the support given to it by suffragists during the year 1918, in its drive for One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers

For a Just and Permanent Peace

THE Woman's Peace Party's latest literature sets forth its "common determination to fibre our efforts upon the declared purpose of the leading statesmen of the world so to end this war that it shall insure a just and permanent peace." At its two previous annual meetings the Peace Party was able to send greetings to the members of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace as citizens of a neutral nation. At its third and last meeting: "Now, with the entrance of our country into the world war, we, as loyal citizens of a belligerent nation, are less able to serve that International Committee and to be in friendly communication with all its members.

"We are not, however, released from the obligations of international comity and we are still sympathetic to all the efforts making throughout the world toward the substitution of law for war in the adjustment of human relationship. We have always been devoted to the higher interests of our national life and are today pledged, both as individuals and as an organization, to such national service as may help toward the establishment of world-wide democracy as a condition of permanent peace. Our special part in the agitation and propaganda of this hour of trial is the cultivation of even-handed justice, largeness of vision and breadth of sympathy which may even now, while the battle rages, weave threads of a better social fabric yet to be."

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

627 West 136th Street
New York City

has six new lectures upon subjects connected with the war, which she will give either separately or as a series. Send to her for circular with particulars,

Mrs. Gilman expects to speak for the Boston E. S. A. about February 24, and could make other engagements for that week in the neighborhood of Boston or en route.

International Woman Suffrage News
(Jus Suffragii)

The Only Paper That Prints the Suffrage News of the World

The latest number contains

A Special World Survey of Suffrage Triumphs and Prospects.

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Time Savers

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You may rely upon Jell-O as being one of these.

No cooking, no adding of sugar or other material, but everything ready for the finishing touch which is given in a minute.

The easiness of the "process" of making gelatinous dishes from Jell-O has been a revelation to nurses in particular. The matter of *time* is one of very great importance, and so is the matter of finishing up a fine dessert or salad in a minute or two instead of half an hour or more.

Minutes Count

Not only do minutes count, but time spent in unnecessary "fussing" is worse than wasted, for it is attended with a desire to say bad words or kick something. When you have figured it out that time is saved by using the ready-made Jell-O for desserts and salads instead of "puttering" with different materials in attempts to get the same result, you will not need to be told that you save money too.

Cost Savers

For Jell-O costs only 10 cents a package, and that includes sugar and ***everything.***

The 1918 Jell-O Book, just out, contains more new recipes than any has ever before and they are useful recipes. A copy of the book, beautifully illustrated, will be sent to you free if you will send us your name and address.

Jell-O is put up in seven pure fruit flavors: Strawberry, Raspberry, Lemon, Orange, Cherry, Peach, Chocolate.

10¢ a package

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